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Hawaiian annexation would weaken the power of our people and government.—James A. Garfield.

Eaton, Norman Bridgman

The
Hawaiian
Annexation
Scheme

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Why the United States Cannot HONORABLY Accept Hawaii.

"Annexation" Neither Necessary Nor Advantageous.

There are a great many objections to the ratification of the pending Hawaiian treaty, and they involve very serious consideration. The American people pride themselves upon their regard for *national morality* and *honor*, *devotion to principle* and *the rights of the oppressed*. We fear there is an infraction of all these in the proposition to seize the Hawaiian Islands. There is so much surrounding this matter that we think it very unfortunate if the Senate proceeds to consider this particular treaty *with closed doors*. It is the rule of that body to discuss all treaties in secret session, but there is nothing surrounding the Hawaiian treaty that makes a strict enforcement of the Senate rule necessary, and there are many reasons why *the doors should be open* pending the debate. The American people are entitled to be fully advised of the arguments presented for this contemplated violation of that continuous policy of the United States which has rejected the British idea of *colonial possessions*!

If this treaty is righteous, it certainly can bear the light of day, and the reasons given should be strong enough to permit free criticism at the hands of the press and the people *before ratification*. The whole world knows of the treaty. It has been published verbatim. All the nations of the earth are acquainted with its contents, and there are no diplomatic or other reasons, making debate in the dark either necessary or fair in this particular case. The American people are entitled to know all about this "job" before it is finally consummated behind closed doors. They want to fully understand *what advantage will accrue*, and especially, *what necessity exists* for the proposed cession of islands lying 2,100 miles away, that has not existed for half a century. Up to the present time the American people have heard but one side of the question, because the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" and Hawaiian politicians have filled the public press with all sorts of stories intended to inculcate false ideas and erroneous impressions. The American people are to-day unconsciously laboring under delusions concerning this Hawaiian matter. They have been

saturated with almost every conceivable argument, thought or suggestion to bring about existing unsound mental and moral conditions. The avaricious Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" has been abundantly able—from the enormous duties which the United States have remitted to that "Trust" on Hawaiian sugar for over twenty years—to employ the best talent and the most imaginative and prolific writers, and the public press has been very liberal in putting the "annexation" scheme to the front in its most attractive form, as something which philanthropists should favor and which the truly good and patriotic should encourage.

The President seems to have been brought to favor this treaty pretty much as General Grant was brought over in 1869 to favor the San Domingo "job," but even the weight of the latter's great influence was not sufficient to break down the continuous policy of the United States *to abstain from colonial aggression*. The President wants the country to *assume* that the "annexation" of the Hawaiian Islands, as far away as Europe, is "the necessary and fitting sequel" to a chain of events in our policy; the "inevitable consequence" of our relations with those islands for seventy-five years! We are compelled to challenge that theory. We assert that it is a mere *assumption*, and yet this whole Hawaiian business is predicated upon that. We insist—what history proves, that the policy of the United States toward the Hawaiian Islands has been that of *non-interference* with their internal affairs and to resolutely maintain their *independence*. That necessarily precludes "annexation" as well as the domination of the islands by foreign nations. We assert that the proper authority of the United States has repeatedly and affirmatively rejected the covetous policy; that in serving notice on foreign nations that they must abstain from Hawaiian control, we were acting without selfish design to ultimately absorb the islands *ourselves*. Any other view of the matter would cast reproach upon our foreign policy and lower the respect which nations are supposed to entertain of the United States. The evidence to sustain our contention is abundant to overcome the President's assumption and it will probably be fully laid before the Senate. A strenuous effort is making to overcome this insistent policy to which the United States have so strenuously adhered. In spite of his own record, Secretary Sherman asserts that the case of Hawaii is "exceptional," while those in charge of Hawaiian "annexation" in the islands, have sought *to create conditions* and thus *force* the case within supposed lines laid down by Mr. Blaine! Does a conspiracy that overturns a lawful government *with the aid of our diplomatic and other agents*, and wrests Hawaii from her people, make this

case exceptional? Will that sustain a change of policy on our part?

We think it most unfortunate that in neither the letter of the President nor in that of Secretary Sherman is there the slightest reference to the fact that Congress has a grave question of *national morality* to deal with in this matter! On a certain occasion, a predecessor of Mr. McKinley did not ignore so important a feature where it was feared that it might, by possibility even, have some bearing on a cession of foreign territory! And we think it also unfortunate that neither the President nor the Secretary offers any evidence whatever to show either the *necessity* or the *desirability* of annexing the Hawaiian Islands. The case should not have been left to the representatives of the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" to make out.

When a nation approaches the United States as "an equal"—to use the language of Secretary Sherman, and voluntarily offers to cede its territory and its sovereignty without price, we have a right to discover *what may be its real object*. There certainly must be some very material reasons for it, and they ought to be honestly, fully and fairly stated, in order to relieve such a weighty transaction of all suspicion that might otherwise attach to such a gift! In this case the suspicion which certainly has attached is not removed by the preamble to the "annexation" treaty, which states that Hawaii is "dependent on" and is in "close proximity" to the United States.

Hawaii is only dependent in the same sense that she has always been; that we will continue to maintain *her independence* as we have always done, and certainly islands 2,100 miles away are *not* in "proximity" to the United States any more than Ireland is, and the mere fact that we have their trade has no more force *now* than it has had ever since 1863—or even prior thereto, when we had four-fifths of the commerce of the islands. And while the further statement that—"the government of the republic of Hawaii"—desires annexation is conceded, it conveys deception, in this: that the so-called government of Hawaii *is not a "republic,"* but an *oligarchy*, as was frankly admitted by Chief Justice Judd of Honolulu last June in an interview in Boston. All this explains why we must look elsewhere than to the preamble of the treaty for an explanation of this proposed cession.

There is no pretense anywhere set forth by either the President or Secretary Sherman that *any danger* threatens these islands, making it *necessary* for the United States to change its policy of maintaining their *independence*—against all the world! Efforts have been made to alarm the country

with "war scares," to excite national cupidity and a spirit of territorial aggression and thus hasten "annexation." But all that is the product of imagination. One moment we have been asked to assume that there was imminent danger of foreign domination unless the United States annexed Hawaii, and efforts have even been made to have our flag again placed over the Hawaiian government building in Honolulu, and the next moment these attempts suddenly cease! Time alone has exposed the *deceptive* character of these tactics, but they serve to reflect upon the *morality* of the cession; *they involve the integrity of the motive* of those who are the prime movers behind the "annexation" scheme, because *there has never been a single moment* in many years, when there was the slightest danger of any foreign nation seizing possession of or dominating the Hawaiian Islands! The policy of the United States toward Hawaii for over half a century has been so well known and *so firmly established*, that no nation would contemplate menacing their independence, which the United States have guaranteed and in which policy England and France joined over fifty years ago. When those two nations in 1843—at the instance of Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State entered into a treaty or protocol, wherein and whereby they agreed to consider the Hawaiian Islands—"as an *independent* State and "*never to take possession*, either directly or under the title of "protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they were composed," and when the United States, through Mr. Webster, in the same year stated that the United States *did not desire nor intend* "to secure to itself exclusive privileges in matters of navigation or trade, nor to "prevent any or all other commercial nations from an equal "participation with ourselves in the benefits of an intercourse with those islands, *seeking no control over their government*, nor any undue influence whatever, *our only wish being* "that the *integrity and independence* of Hawaiian territory might "be scrupulously maintained."—a wall of defense was erected about Hawaii, stronger than any fortifications or any line of battle-ships, which no country—not even the United States should attempt to pull down! *That policy is indelibly impressed upon us as a nation with the seal of time*, and it effectually disposes of all the artfully conceived "war scares" issued to create artificial conditions and force "annexation." Hence some great advantage or serious *danger* or some great national *necessity* should be made to clearly appear to warrant a reversal of this American policy that has obtained for half a century.

What has recently happened, or what can probably occur, under our policy of half a century toward Hawaii that has

maintained and continues to guarantee its independence which makes it either necessary, advisable or advantageous to annex those islands? For instance as late as 1894 the Senate unanimously adopted a resolution on Hawaii to this effect—that *the people* of Hawaii had a right *to establish and maintain their own form of government*, the United States not to interfere therewith, other nations not to intervene. (Cong. Record, 53d, 2d, p. 5500.)

That was the doctrine of Webster and of all our statesmen. And on the 7th of February, 1894, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 177 to 78, adopted a similar but even stronger resolution. Why should there be a change of front? The islands are safe; their freedom from foreign control *is guaranteed by us*; we have their trade as we always have had, because it is to their great advantage; annexed, we would need *to defend them at great cost* and *they really require no defense now*. What then can be the real meaning of this movement? Can it be “free” sugar?

It is also misleading and deceptive to argue that it must be “annexation,” or a restoration of the monarchy. That would concede that the present oligarchy has not the moral strength nor the physical power *to maintain itself*! But whether *the people* of Hawaii—who alone ought to control, desire a constitutional monarchy, or the oligarchy of the few sugar planters, is of no concern to us. *What right have we to interfere?* In order to create a prejudice among the American people, the case has been argued as that of a “republic” struggling to prevent the restoration of a monarchy. Nothing could be farther from the truth and yet *that* idea has deluded thousands! We are surprised that our State Department presumes to call the oligarchy a “republic”! There are several aspects in which the constitutional monarchy of 1864 to 93 was far more liberal than the present oligarchy. But whether it be one or the other does not concern the United States nor justify our interposition to *steal* a government under the cloak of a conspiracy, and consummate the job through “annexation”—*without the consent of the people*. The United States have never consented to the acquisition by cession of foreign territory—inhabited by an intelligent people, without their consent. Alaska was ceded by a nation having the power to control it, but quite independently of that, Alaska had a mere handful of Indians, qualified to neither consent nor reject, and we are surprised to find Senator Morgan using Alaska as a parallel case! *Our republic was based upon the consent of the people*, and we may not impinge upon that basic principle and fundamental doctrine—to please the Hawaiian “Sugar Trust.”

It is of material import to note the fact that there are other considerations—involving the *morality* of this transaction, embraced in this Hawaiian treaty. The real object of those in Hawaii, who have long been concocting this “annexation” scheme, has been skillfully kept in the background. The proposed cession of Hawaii came from the State Department and the President hot-footed into the United States Senate during the pendency in that body of the Dingley tariff bill, which had been so amended as to *suggest the same duty on Hawaiian sugar* that it was proposed by the bill to lay on all other foreign sugar! This is only significant of *what the ultimate purpose* of Hawaiian “annexation” is. As matters have stood since 1875, *Hawaiian sugar pays no duty!* The United States—under our “free sugar” treaty with Hawaii has remitted in duty since 1875 about sixty-six millions of dollars, and the duty on Hawaiian sugar per annum—under the Dingley bill, would be nearly eight millions a year! That treaty has virtually expired, and when it was proposed—in the last Congress, to order notice to be given of its abrogation and to levy a duty on Hawaiian sugar, the pending “annexation” treaty made its sudden exit from the State Department and the Executive Mansion, *as if to head off duty on Hawaiian sugar!* The tactics resorted to were successful! With “annexation,” the islands would become a part of the United States and of course *no duty would thereafter ever be paid* on Hawaiian sugar! *That* is the electric button which many think the Hawaiian “annexationists” are pressing. We would not only pay \$4,000,000 of debt, but *forever relinquish* \$8,000,000 of revenue a year on Hawaiian sugar! And yet certain newspapers assume to call this proposed cession a gift! It is seriously asserted that “free” sugar is the marrow in this whole “annexation” scheme! It is a high stake to play for. “Annexation” would mean that large sums of money which *should begin to flow into our treasury from duty on Hawaiian sugar* are to be kept running into the pockets of a few *Hawaiian sugar planters!* That feature of the proposed cession cannot be eliminated and it has a very important bearing on the *real purpose* and hence on the *morality* of “annexation.” The suggestion of cupidity casts suspicion upon the treaty.

But there is a consideration of even more importance than any yet suggested and far superior to our right to revenue from Hawaii. The conditions to-day are practically the same as they were when the former “annexation” treaty was withdrawn from the Senate. It becomes essential to us, as a nation, to observe *how* the Hawaiian oligarchy, that now makes a tender of the Sandwich Islands, *obtained its political right*

and pretended title thereto which it now proposes to cede! *That* is always a very serious matter to the grantee when he comes to take a deed! Owing to certain facts, now beyond dispute, the equitable right of the Hawaiian oligarchy to cede, but more particularly the *moral* right of the United States *to accept*, a cession of the islands *from those* now in power, *is open to very grave doubt!* It so completely envelops this whole proposition as to make it seem strange that no allusion whatever is made to it by either the President or Secretary Sherman. *The moment the United States are asked by the oligarchy to accept a cession of the islands, it becomes impossible to ignore the morality of the proceedings that brought the oligarchy into power!* Secretary Gresham in October, 1893, correctly and concisely stated the objection to the cession of Hawaii in 1893, and *the same objection exists to-day.* He said:

"The Provisional Government (now the oligarchy) was not established by the Hawaiian people, nor with their consent or acquiescence, nor has it since existed with their consent. The Queen refused to surrender her power to the Provisional Government (in 1893) until convinced that the Minister (Stevens) of the United States had recognized it as the *de facto* authority and would support and defend it with the military forces of the United States, and that resistance would precipitate a bloody conflict with that force. She was advised and assured by her ministers and by leaders of the movement for the overthrow of her government, that if she surrendered *under protest* her case would be considered fairly by the President of the United States! The Queen finally wisely yielded to the armed forces of the United States then quartered in Honolulu, relying on the good faith and honor of the President, when fully informed of what had occurred, *to undo the action of our Minister* (Stevens) and re-instate her and her authority, which she claimed as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands. After a patient examination of the Report, the President was satisfied that the movement against the Queen, if not instigated, was encouraged and supported *by the representative of our Government*; that he promised, in advance, to aid her enemies in an effort to overthrow the Hawaiian government and set up by force a new government in its place, and that he kept this promise by causing a detachment of our troops to be landed from the *Boston* on the 16th of January and by recognizing the 'Provisional Government' the next day *when it was too feeble to defend itself, etc.*" (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, 53d, 3d, pages 1190, 991, 218, 768, 738, 633, 595.

Mr. Stevens seems to have been so hot-footed in this scheme as to have recognized the conspiracy as a government *de facto*

even *before* the Queen had surrendered to the United States! (See same Doc., pp. 526, 529, 228, 639, 633, 943.)

The conceded facts and the treaty place the United States in the position of not only being asked to accept territory, the possession of which was obtained by duplicity, and *the connivance of our Minister*, leading up to and forming part of a conspiracy, but secured to the oligarchy through the unlawful intervention and intercession of the naval forces of the *United States!* *Such a title is inherently vicious.* It would be *morally rotten in the eyes of the civilized world!* We quite agree with Mr. Lorrin Thurston of Hawaii that it is a sound maxim of the law, that no individual may take advantage of his own wrong; but no more should a great nation like the United States take advantage of the wrongful act of *its own diplomatic and other agents* to obtain the possession of and a colorable title to Hawaii, *without the consent of the people!*

The United States have never engaged in intrigue to secure foreign territory and they have never *collusively aided others* to seize possessions *with a view of ceding the same to us.* In fact, we have been very cautious and perhaps tardy in accepting territory, even when taking it openly through purchase or conquest, while in the case of Texas we had the assent of the people, and there was a clause in the treaty of annexation with San Domingo making *the consent of the inhabitants* necessary and our war ships protected the poll of the vote. It is likewise historically true that the United States have never *conspired* to secure possessions, and they have always rejected the British *colonial* policy, and for many good and sufficient reasons. It has never been our policy to expand our national domain to embrace distant islands. Hence we have the most compact and therefore comparatively inexpensive nation on the face of the globe. And above all, the United States have never accepted a foot of territory *from usurpers or pretenders.* Our action in either purchasing, or securing territory by war even, has been as free and open as day, preceded by neither connivance nor diplomatic deception, and hence the title to our entire territory *is free from taint or shadow of suspicion.* So it should remain. Let us not tarnish that record. It is far more important to us in prospectively dealing with foreign nations, than Hawaii.

To invest a nation with the possession and sovereignty of foreign territory by voluntary and free gift, the grantee should scrupulously observe the title of the grantor. Title should be free from all taint or suspicion; there should be *no cloud upon the same*, and above all, there should be no evidence at hand showing that the nation which is (now) asked to take the cession, was, through its diplomatic or other agents, *in*

collusion to lodge in the "Provisional Government" (now the oligarchy) by duplicity, trick, deception and force, the title to the thing which it is now proposed to cede! Do the United States occupy that position in the case of the Hawaiian Islands? Not upon the record. In fact the very ground, and the only ground upon which President Cleveland was proposing to restore the Queen, *impeached the title* now held by the Hawaiian authorities, and that renders it impossible for the United States to *honorably* accept the possession, and sovereignty of these islands—from the oligarchy! The assent of the Queen, but more especially that of *the people*, is an important requisite to make us a good title, and *none other should be accepted*, provided it is either prudent or necessary to depart from our traditional policy and annex these islands at all.

Of course THE FACTS become very important. The plan of the conspirators seems to have been not to appear before the Special Commissioner sent to Honolulu, the idea being that the facts would thus either be suppressed or disputable. At the outset it is important to note that Minister Stevens, as early as March, 1892, was evidently made aware that a conspiracy was hatching to seize the Hawaiian Government. This is proven by his cautious letter of inquiry from Honolulu to our Secretary of State. He therein unfolds the probable plan which was likely to be adopted by the conspirators and asks for instructions—

"If the government here should be *surprised* and overturned "by *orderly* and *peaceful* movement, largely of native Hawaiians and a Provisional or *republican* (sic) government organized and proclaimed, would the United States Minister and naval commander here be justified in responding affirmatively to the call of the members of the *removed* government "to *restore them to power*, or replace them in possession of the "government buildings? Or should the United States Minister and naval commander confine themselves exclusively "to the preservation of American property, the protection of "American citizens and the prevention of anarchy?"

No unprejudiced man can rise from an intelligent perusal of that letter without feeling convinced that this "annexation" plot was incubating *nearly a year before it culminated*, and that Stevens was fully advised of its delicate "diplomatic" details.

The Executive of the United States has well said—

"Minister Stevens consulted freely with the leaders of the "revolutionary movement from the evening of January 14, "1893. They disclosed to him *all their plans*! They feared "arrest and punishment. *He promised them protection*! They "needed the U. S. troops on shore *to overawe the Queen's* sup-

“porters and her government! *These he agreed to and did furnish! * * * The American Minister and the revolutionary leaders had determined on annexation to the United States, and had agreed on the part each was to act to the very end.*” (See same Doc., pp. 594, 453, 455.)

And the record further proves that had the Queen not been overawed by the use made of *our flag and our marines* (p. 738-9), she having possession of the station-house, barracks and palace (p. 943) with ample forces, she would have throttled the conspirators (p. 1032, 1036, 1039), who in the garb of “peaceable” citizens (p. 214) entitled to assemble, had really met to conspire and overthrow the government *with the knowledge*, if not *connivance of our Minister*, who was to and did ask for the landing of our marines, without the consent of the Queen. In *that way, and in that way only*, the oligarchy “peaceably” sneaked into position. Its members did not miss a meal—because it was the use of the power of the United States and not their own, which induced the Queen to surrender. To avoid bloodshed *with our troops*, she submitted the whole matter to the President. In this she was *following precedents* set by her predecessors, and that has some force. For instance, on the 25th of February, 1843, under pressure of British naval forces, the Hawaiian king ceded the islands to Lord George Paulet, subject to the decision of the British Government “after full information” given of the facts. The British *restored the islands* to the king and it created a deep impression on the minds of the Hawaiians. (See same Doc., pp. 595-51-59.) Confronted as the Queen supposed she was by the forces and flag of the United States (pp. 208-218), Judge Wideman recalled this action of the English and Hawaiian protests to the Queen to satisfy her that the “Provisional Government” of 1893—because brought to success through the forces and flag of the United States, *would be repudiated* by the United States when all the facts were laid before the President (p. 595). Mr. Damon made like representations. Hence her surrender, protest and appeal to our President (pp. 218-219).

In 1849, when the French admiral landed his forces in Honolulu to secure reparation for some alleged infraction of international law, the Hawaiian king offered no opposition. He withdrew when the French Government had ascertained the facts. (See same Doc., pp. 72-75.)

In the light of these precedents how can the United States *honorably* do less than the English and French did. Least of all can *we accept the fruits* of this conspiracy from the conspirators.

When the facts were all laid before our Executive he found

ample reasons to attempt to *save our flag from dishonor* by withdrawing the treaty and asking the "Provisional Government" to give up their plunder. (See same Doc., pp. 1190-1191.) But he proceeded, only as far as his constitutional power permitted, to rectify a wrong (p. 1283). He never contemplated a restoration of the Queen by force (p. 1299).

And he even attached humane conditions to whatever he might try to do, to set the United States right before the civilized world, to which conditions the Queen reluctantly—because of her oath of office, but finally consented (pp. 1242, 1263, 1267, 1269).

The "Provisional Government," so-called, refused to return to the Queen her lawful authority (pp. 1275, 1282).

The President could not constitutionally proceed farther, but he succeeded in clearly defining his idea of what the *national honor* of a great nation required, and thus the matter drifted into Congress. The American people *have never understood this matter*. They have neither understood the facts, the issue nor what was at stake. As the President well and truly said—"The subversion of the Hawaiian government by an—

"*abuse of the authority of the United States was in plain violation of international law, and required the President to disavow and condemn the act of our offending officials, and within the limits of his constitutional power, to endeavor to restore the lawful authority.*" (See same Doc., p. 1283.)

As it stands to-day the American people *are deceived!* They have been skillfully played upon as one would play upon a flute! They are the *innocent victims of a selfish lot of foreign sugar planters* and their diplomatic agents, representatives and foreign newspapers. And this is so in spite of the fact that our people hate deception and duplicity; and notwithstanding the fact that if there is anything the average American citizen loves it is *fair play*.

Since January 17, 1893, the so-called "Provisional Government" of Hawaii set up by the conspirators, has given way to a self-constituted oligarchy which in no wise represents the people, nor was it set up with their consent. To that, protest was promptly entered (p. 1316). Under these circumstances the United States are asked to regard Hawaii as a "republic" and to treat with it on "equal terms"! It is one of the most remarkable propositions recorded in the history of international law. The assurance which it contains is only equaled by the cowardice that shielded itself behind our flag and our marines to set up the "Provisional Government."

The facts become vitally important *the moment the oligarchy*

tenders the Islands to the United States! The oligarchy may have "diplomatically" overcome the constitutional government of Hawaii, and be in a position to hold its spoils as against our Executive, but to attempt to make the United States a receiver of stolen goods—obtained through the intercession of *our agents*, is asking *a little too much!* That we may not *honorably* accept!

Under a former Administration the attempt was made to thrust politics into this "annexation" scheme. There was no good ground for this. In fact there was ample precedent for the sending Mr. Blount to Hawaii as a special envoy to develop the facts, just as such a commissioner was sent to San Domingo by General Grant, and still later he sent a commissioner there which made a report.

Much ado was also made over the "flag" incident by persons who were poorly advised or dishonestly inclined. The methods adopted all through this Hawaiian business have smacked of the crafty conspirator intent upon deception and inflaming the minds of the American people. What are the facts about our flag?

Minister Stevens caused our flag to be hoisted over the Hawaiian government buildings, after the "Provisional Government" had been set up! (See same Doc., p. 404.)

As well might our Minister in London set up our flag over the Parliament House.

For the reason that *it had no right there*, Secretary Foster disavowed the act (February 14, 1893), and it had to come down. As the Secretary well said, the hoisting of our flag over a foreign government building was placing the symbol of the power of the United States over the Hawaiian authority, and the act could not be sustained. (See same Doc., 240, 242, 472 and 474.)

The flag, therefore, was, to all intents and purposes, ordered "hailed down" by a Republican Administration in February, and that order was simply *executed* by a Democratic Administration April 1. The American people have never understood this.

The sham excuse of the conspirators to excuse their action in January, 1893, was that the Queen proposed to unlawfully promulgate a new Constitution (pp. 213, 227).

There are complete and satisfactory answers to this pretext. First. Even if the Queen had conceived that idea, it was only because *the people* were demanding such action (pp. 581, 848, 907, 909) in order to get a return of the suffrage (p. 581) and the power *extorted* from them under the Constitution of 1887 which the sugar oligarchy had *forced* upon the King (pp. 576, 1019). Second. The Queen concluded not to pro-

mulgate a new Constitution and timely informed the conspirators of the fact (p. 228, 582). Third. Her original intention was a liberalizing one and in marked contrast with the disfranchising *test* oath clause (100) in the so-called Constitution of the oligarchy (p. 1339).

These statements are so closely interwoven with the oligarchy that they seem necessary to an intelligent idea of the subject, but the pivotal point is that a title impeached by *our own Executive act* in 1893-4, cannot be said to be cleared by the mere force of votes in Congress, exploiting a new political policy largely based upon *sentiment* at home and the *cupidity* of interested sugar planters abroad. That the title now held by the Hawaiian oligarchy is *tainted*—in so far as that the United States may not honorably accept it from the oligarchy, was proven, after full investigation, in the report made to the Executive by our own special Commissioner sent to the Islands to develop the facts. That report has ample evidence to support it. In a suit between the United States, the oligarchy, and the Queen or Hawaiian people, a court of equity would set aside a deed of these Islands made to the United States by the oligarchy, *as collusively obtained by and through the connivance of our own agents!*

That is the test of our *moral* right to accept the cession. Of course we have *the power* to take the deed—even from an oligarchy, but we would be forever concluded thereby to criticise similar acts or like seizures by other nations which the American people have not been slow to condemn.

That our diplomatic and other agencies did interfere in Hawaii is *fully established* by the following from the message of our own Executive, December 18, 1893—

“The lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown, by a process, every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon *the agency of the United States* through its diplomatic and naval representatives.”

And much more to the same effect. As against those in Hawaii who are and ever have been protesting against spoliation, the United States *cannot gainsay the admission of its own Executive*. It is not impeachable. It stands forth on the record made up by the United States itself. It will be seen at once, that *this is not a question of restoring the monarchy*—the present political status quo in the Hawaiian Islands *may well remain*, but *when the United States is asked to accept a title, tainted because of the collusive acts of its own agents, a very different question arises!* Nor need we depend alone on the message of the Executive of December, 1893, to show why. Secretary Foster's letter of January 28, 1893, replying to that

of Minister Stevens informing the Secretary of the latter's hasty recognition of the "Provisional Government," clearly indicates what he thought was necessary. He says—

"Your course in recognizing an *unopposed* de facto government, appears to have been discreet and in accordance with the facts! The rule of this government has uniformly been to recognize and enter into relations with any *actual* government in full possession of *effective* power *with the assent of the people!*"

Those conditions *did not exist* in January, 1893! The only reason the conspirators were "unopposed" was that the Queen was artfully and deceptively led to suppose that she was menaced by the authority of the *United States* and she surrendered—not to the Provisional Government, but to *our* flag and *our* forces, until the matter could be investigated. Nor was the "Provisional" cabal in Hawaii an "actual" government having "effective" power with "the assent of the people." There has never been any such a pretense! The *moral* question *remains just where it was placed four years ago by the oligarchy itself. Time cannot eradicate it.*

The claim of the oligarchy is thus stated by Mr. Lorrin Thurston—

"The fact that the United States Minister—with or without the authority of his government, *may have trespassed upon the international rights of Hawaii (i. e. the Queen)* does not thereby confer jurisdiction upon the government of the United States to now again and deliberately trespass upon such rights," *i. e., upon the rights of the oligarchy, a de facto or de jure government!* (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 440, 53d, 3d.)

No need to discuss that question. The point is, that enough is stated and conceded to show that the title, possession and sovereignty thus seized, obtained and held *without the consent of the people* and against the wish of their lawful sovereign, was obtained *through the complicity and connivance of the diplomatic agent and forces of the United States!* It was only because of *that* intervention that the plot was successful; else there were no pretense *now* of power to transfer the Hawaiian Islands by the oligarchy. In plain words Mr. Thurston's language comes to this, that even if Stevens did cause our flag and our marines to be deceptively used to establish a revolutionary government and overthrow a lawful ruler, yet being in possession, the oligarchy insists that it cannot be ousted nor the Queen restored by the United States. Morality and justice are thrown to the winds. It is tantamount to saying that the "job" was well planned and conceived to dupe and deceive, and even if its success depended on the dishonorable

use made of the American flag and marines, the oligarchy has the advantage of possession and proposes to keep it. In other words the oligarchy says to us, our conspiracy was a diplomatic success—in so far as that the United States may not *now* interfere to oust us. It argues that the President of the United States may not use force or make war upon it; Congress only has that power! That is the reason this oligarchy has remained in power.

Now concede all that is thus said, and it does not go far enough. If those who stand upon this slippery ground *were asking nothing more than to be "let alone,"* the United States might rest upon its recognition of the status quo, *but the trouble is—and herein is the inherent or structural weakness of this "annexation" scheme;* the oligarchy now asks the United States to accept *from it a title thus obtained!* A title—the possession of which could not have been seized or possessed *save by the misuse made of our flag and our forces!* That title the United States cannot honorably accept! *That is the real issue as annexation is now presented!* Mr. Thurston overlooks it. When a government in Hawaii comes to the United States *with clean hands and the assent of the people,* the United States will be in a position to listen, but not until that time. Jackson—in the case of Texas, adverted to the morality involved in that proposed cession, in his message of December 21, 1836—

"The title of Texas to the territory she claims is identified *"with her independence; she asks us to acknowledge that "title to the territory with an avowed design to treat immediately for its transfer to the United States. It becomes us "to beware of a too early movement, as it might subject us, "however unjustly, to the imputation of seeking to establish the "claim of our neighbors to territory, with a view to its subsequent "acquisition by ourselves."*

In that case neither the United States nor its diplomatic or other agents had, at any time or in any way, interfered with or connived at the independence of Texas, and yet we see how scrupulously observant our Executive then was of *the morality* of a transaction involving the independence of a country, which was something very much less than a cession of territory! *The moral sense of Presidents may have since become blunted, but that of a great nation remains acute.* Aside from the collusion of our Minister to bring about the success of the "Provisional Government" in Hawaii by the deceptive use of our flag and marines and the premature recognition of the same, we have—in the proclamation issued by it, the express acknowledgment *that at its very inception, it was—"established,"* (2) to exist *until terms of Union with the*

United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."
(See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 210, 53d, 3d)

Does any person suppose for a single moment that had our diplomatic and other agencies interfered—as they did in Hawaii, to overthrow Mexican authority in Texas, and had set up the Texas government *through our intercession*, that Jackson would have listened for a second to an acceptance of territory *thus obtained*! With no such element existing, the United States declined to accept the cession of Texas *until eight years after* Jackson wrote, and then it came to us with *the assent of the people* through convention, and not from an oligarchy that has established its right in Hawaii solely through the collusion and connivance of our Minister and the use made of our flag and our naval forces!

An American Congress should hesitate *a long time* before accepting Hawaiian title *as now tendered*! The national honor and good morals are involved in this "annexation" scheme! It is the first question to which Congress should address itself. All other considerations, if important, are subsidiary. Two things stand self-confessed and unimpeachable—

1. The unlawful interference of our Minister and our marines that made a conspiracy successful;

2. The treaty proposes that the United States accept *the fruits of that conspiracy*.

The status-quo is in no way involved so long as Congress shall refuse interference to restore the old order of things. The rehabilitation of the monarchy is not in issue. The present oligarchy—according to Secretary Sherman, represents a "firmly established" state. The rejection of "annexation" will not sacrifice the *independence* of the islands to which policy the United States has long been committed, and hence all danger of foreign domination can be dismissed. It is a bogie man that alarms no one. Nor should we, through annexation—without the consent of the people, *rob them of the right to govern themselves*.

There can be no sort of doubt, that the United States, itself a republic, based upon *the consent of the people*, should insist that any cession of Hawaiian territory should have *the assent of a majority of the people* of the islands, and not merely of the few who, from our remission of duty on their sugar, have been able to lay by dollars and cents in Honolulu! In his letter to Mr. Culver of November 19, 1862, Secretary Seward said—"A revolutionary government is not to be recognized until it is established by *the great body of the population* of the state it claims to govern." (Wharton, Vol. 1, . 542.)

That is sound republican doctrine, and it seems hardly necessary to add anything to support it. The consent of the people is the cornerstone of our own republic! A mere handful of revolutionists or conspirators—aided by deception, trick and the moral, yea actual force of the United States, ousted a lawful ruler and, seizing possession, they now offer to cede title to the territory thus obtained to the very nation whose diplomatic agents connived at the usurpation, and obtained the possession for the grantor against the consent of the people! The nation thus situated—to whom the tender is now made, cannot honorably accept such a title!

It is undoubtedly true, as stated by the President, that, as a mere naked proposition, the proposed cession of Hawaii, is not a "new scheme," but it is equally true that there are certain matters surrounding "annexation" as now presented, that find no warrant in national morals. The effort made in the papers accompanying the treaty to the Senate, to dress it up as a new proposition and excuse the defeat of the prior treaty, evinces a consciousness that the present one needs support. The indirect attempt to show wherein that treaty was weak, unconsciously discloses the frailty of the pending one. These things are not only manifest but painful. The treaty of 1893-4 was withdrawn, no so much for the reason so diplomatically adverted to by Secretary Sherman—because both treaties came from the same Hawaiian parties, substantially, but for the reason that a full investigation revealed the fact that—"the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown by "a process, every step of which was directly traceable to and "dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States "acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives." (House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, 53d, 3d, p. 219, 455, 738, 768.)

That was the allegation of our own Executive, and the people of Hawaii who are objecting to annexation and have protests on file, have a right to insist that the allegation is true. That situation remains unchanged. Thus an issue was formed and it remained untried and undisposed of at the time the pending treaty came into the Senate. As between Congress and the Hawaiian people objecting to "annexation," Congress may not impeach our own Executive! It is true that an incoming Executive has the political power to ignore so grave an executive statement, but an exercise of that power will not—in the eyes of the civilized world and the American people, wipe out the fact that a ratification of this treaty in which the oligarchy is the grantor, will violate national honor and morality, leaving the grave accusation of our own Executive on record, undisturbed, to forever condemn the act.

There is not only no precedent in our country for the con-

templated cession, but annexation is objectionable for another reason. The history of Hawaii is quite replete with evidences of a higher sense of honor, honesty and fair play than is here exhibited. For instance, when the Sandwich Islands were ceded to Great Britain, conditionally, in 1843, *the English were prompt in disavowing the act of their Admiral.* (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 51-59, 53d Cong., 3d.)

A few years after, when the islands were ceded to the United States, as against France, which was complaining of treaty infractions, our Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, *ordered the deed returned* to the Hawaiians. (See same Doc., p. 91-102.)

Still later, under the administration of Mr. Pierce, when the islands were about to be conditionally ceded to the United States because of internal commotions therein, Secretary Marcy was very careful to regard Gregg's proposition as a measure—"proposed by *the people*," in which the rulers were disposed to concur. (See same Doc., p. 122.)

And later still, *the consent of the people* was evidently regarded as requisite by Secretary Seward. (See same Doc., p. 143.)

It is a stock argument to talk about "American capital" in Hawaii, but it went there voluntarily—escaping taxation at home; it ventured upon foreign soil in search of sugar profits and has gathered volume. It took all the risks incidental to the form of government and its uncertain tenure, and it has no other claim upon us than other similar enterprises have, entered upon by our citizens in other *foreign* countries, which must always be undertaken at their own risk and subject to the existing laws of those nations—including internal commotions. (See 1 Wharton, p. 545-6.)

It is likewise true that this so-called American capital *came from sugar raised on Hawaiian soil*, and hence is really "Hawaiian capital." Millions have been borrowed also of the English and Germans. (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, 53d, 3d, p. 919-921.)

There is a great deal of American capital in Cuba, but no one would place a proposition to "annex" Cuba on *that* ground. Are we to throw special favor around capital *that deserts our shores and evades home taxation*? Are we to hold "the sack" for capital employed *abroad*?

Secretary Webster answered this very old and musty argument in 1851, when our Commissioner Severance, at Honolulu was plying him with it. He said—

"You inform me that many American people have gone to 'settle in the islands; if so, *they have ceased to be American citizens.* The government of the United States must, of

“course, feel an interest in them not extended to foreigners, “*but by the law of nations they have no further right to demand the protection of this Government.*” (See same Doc., p. 90-102.)

The status of persons who go abroad from the United States *to make money*; who become residents in foreign lands, *pay taxes there and not here*, who in no way contribute to the maintenance, support or defense of this government, who exercise the suffrage abroad and not here, is well defined. They cannot claim “diplomatic” intervention in their behalf. As Secretary Webster well said, they have ceased to be American citizens. (Wharton’s Digest, Sec. 176.)

They have *voluntarily* placed themselves within the power and jurisdiction of Hawaii; have subjected themselves and their property to its laws.

The crafty scheme of “denization” in Hawaii only concerns or affects their status *in Hawaii*, not here. There is no mode of express renunciation of citizenship; a change of domicile, long continued, with family and effects is sufficient manifestation of *intent*, however.

As an intelligent and unprejudiced gentleman, who carefully examined this whole Hawaiian business, well observed—

“Certain men, without throwing off their allegiance to the United States, have secured ‘denizen’ rights in Hawaii, “*gobbled up the lands of the natives, deprived them of suffrage, seized their government and propose now to sell it.*”

We have adverted to the ignominious failure of the St. Domingo annexation scheme in 1871. We also recall the proposition to annex St. Thomas and St. John’s Islands in 1868; and yet these separate “schemes,” with the powerful support of such men as General Grant and of Secretary Seward, failed. *It is not the American policy* to invite or attach people of *all races* from the tropics and incorporate them in this great American system! We recall the reasons advanced by General Garfield in his speech objecting to Hawaiian annexation! They are unanswerable. In the case of Samoa, we have limited ourselves to the purchase of a naval or coal station, with a sort of tripartite protectorate to which the United States, Germany and Great Britain are parties.

Lorrin Thurston, and those who argue with him, assume that *the native Hawaiians* have no concern in what shall be done; no voice that should be listened to; *no rights that the white man is bound to respect!* For four long years those who had always ruled and who—being in the majority, had and have the right to govern Hawaii, have patiently awaited from our Congress some reply to their petition for the redress of a grievance. Our Executive was powerless, under the constitution,

to place the Queen back even if there had been no *sentimental* opposition among the American people to the rehabilitation of the constitutional monarchy which the people of Hawaii had chosen as their form of government; a government which neither the United States nor any other nation had the right to overthrow, directly nor indirectly, through a conspiracy in which our diplomatic and naval agencies were too prominent, and without whom it could not have succeeded. Patiently, and perhaps hopefully, the Hawaiian people have awaited from Congress an answer to their appeals lodged with our Executives. They have thus exhibited the highest evidence of civilization. They have declined to in any way recognize the oligarchy set up by the conspirators and especially by their neglecting and refusing to vote, because it was the evident design of those who employed the *test* oath to invite them to exercise the suffrage and *then to use it as an argument that they had thereby given recognition to the oligarchy!* This ruse has not been successful. The Hawaiian people have no fear of Japanese or other foreign domination; on the other hand the oligarchy sees ghosts on every side; every bush in Hawaii conceals an imaginary foe; fancied danger springs up on every side as the oligarchy contemplates what it has done, but nothing intimidates it more than the fear of justice—long delayed. Before that phantom flit sugar profits and political elevation into obscurity, while the “annexation” wail is wafted on every breeze from Honolulu to Washington. One would think the fate of this nation hung upon the “annexation” of Hawaii. Peaceful Hawaiians are now—even while awaiting an answer at the hands of a great nation, told that they have slept upon their rights. Because they have refused to forcibly assert themselves; because they have pursued that Christian policy of forbearance embodied in the “English arbitration” scheme, and because they have neglected to precipitate a civil war upon Hawaii, they are told by Secretary Sherman that in view of all these things and because they have refused to recognize the oligarchy by voting, *therefore* there is a “republic” in Hawaii with which we may treat on equal terms—for the transfer of the islands! We are amazed *at the want of moral perception* which the treaty and the papers submitted with it, embody. And it is also of serious notice that so long as a treaty is pending, international law would not have warranted an overt act on the part of the Hawaiians to restore themselves to power! *They have pursued the only policy open to them.*

And what is to become of the Monroe doctrine? Already, and before this Hawaiian scheme is consummated, it is stated that—“the Hawaiian annexation question is receiving some

“consideration among the German people. The Germans think that the bulk of the money invested in Samoa has come from them, therefore Germany has *as much right to absorb Samoa as Uncle Sam has to take in Hawaii*. They think that Germany should be allowed to take Samoa without interference on the part of the United States. This they deem a simple matter of fairness and justice.”

Are we to open Pandora's box of *colonial* acquisition in the face of Hawaii's protest, and not only violate a tenet of republican faith but a continuous and insistent policy of this government, simply to annex islands 2,100 miles away? Would we be justified in *trading away* or even *endangering the stability* of so important and far-reaching a policy as that advanced by Mr. Monroe, to attain a *sentimental* advantage in the North Pacific, equally available to Germany in the case of Samoa in the South Pacific? Why, after a century of peace, venture upon *uncertain* if not *disputable* ground? The famous line of protest promulgated by Monroe and made a part of our national faith and recognized by foreign nations, did not stop at a denial of the extension of foreign domination and aggression of colonies and States on this side of the Atlantic not then already possessed or governed by European nations. It embraced a *defensive* policy *on our part*. Under it we may interfere to defend, but not *under cover of that policy covet or take to ourselves*, and especially *against the will of the people* concerned, that which we deny to others. We can readily conceive how the “annexation” of Hawaii—without the *consent of the people* of the islands, might please England and other nations, and Spain as well, and yet work to our serious disadvantage in the near future. We may need a vigorous application of the Monroe doctrine much nearer home than Hawaii, sooner than we are now able to discern. *We surely ought not place the full force and common understanding of that doctrine in dispute!*

Mr. Thurston manifests a very poor conception, too, of the intelligence of the American people, not at all complimentary to a nation of which he is asking favor, when he talks about the *necessity* of our possessing Hawaii *for defense*. The islands lie 2,100 miles away from San Francisco. It would take a battle ship stationed at Honolulu *a short week* to reach a point of attack on the Pacific coast! As well talk about stationing war vessels at Liverpool to defend Boston or New York! The fact is that instead of Hawaii being *defensive* of our coast—it would require a very large expenditure *to defend Hawaii itself*, and *it requires none now* as an independent nation. The sixty millions of dollars of duty already remitted on Hawaiian sugar by the United States since 1876 would long ago have

placed ample fortifications and battle ships on the Pacific coast to have effectually defended it from any ordinary attack, and the eight millions per annum of duty on sugar that would be *forever* remitted by "annexation," would—in a very few years, cover all the cost of the war vessels and fortifications necessary to insure as good a defense of our Pacific coast as it is possible to make. Independently of all that, however, we already have right and title to Pearl River harbor, the only naval refuge in the islands, of any account, and we do not quite see how "annexation" would increase our opportunity to further advantage ourselves from a naval standpoint. We bought that harbor and it has cost the United States upwards of \$40,000,000 of money in duty remitted on sugar. We cannot therefore explain the suggestion advanced that Hawaii would be a *defensive* point upon any other hypothesis than that its authors feel hard pressed for better argument. They certainly put a low estimate upon the sagacity of an American Congress, as they seem to assume that the American people are *mere sentimentalists* on the Hawaiian question.

This "annexation" sentiment is a dangerous *national microbe of unlimited power* if once left to prey upon a people easily amused with new ideas. We have wisely confined the extension of our domain, thus far, to practically *contiguous* territory which has given the United States great strength and solidity. It is the part of prudence—and of *economy* as well, to continue that policy. It is already asserted that a number of merchants and sugar planters of Spanish origin, in conjunction with several Cubans of prominence, have been holding secret meetings and corresponding with people in various parts of Cuba with the object of ascertaining the views of the commercial and planting community of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas and Santa Clara provinces as to the future for Cuba most likely to further their interests and those of the island in general.

It is expected that the majority of the replies will be favorable to "annexation" *of Cuba* to the United States. The masses of the American people would see no reason why Cuba should not be "annexed" if Hawaii was, especially as the people of Cuba might not object, as do a majority in Hawaii. *It is for Congress to prevent the spread of this microbe* and thus prove the wisdom of the words of the late President Garfield, who opposed Hawaiian annexation. He said—

"I wish to state distinctly on the general question of annexation of out-lying islands or territory—except in the North, and I make an exception there—that I trust we have seen the last of annexation, and in this remark I include the whole group of the West India Islands and the whole of

“ the Mexican territory contiguous to the United States, inhabited as it is by a portion of the Latin races, strangely mixed and degenerated by their mixture with native races ; a population and a territory that naturally enfeebles man ; a population and a territory that I earnestly hope may never be made an integral part of the people and a territory of the United States. We occupy a portion of that great northern zone which girdles the world and which has been the theater of the greatest achievements of civilization, especially in the history of the Anglo-Saxon races ; but should we extend our possessions into the tropical (Hawaiian) belt, *we would weaken the power of our people and government*” !

And why? Because while the English may have been willing to grab islands, she never allows the people thereof representation in her Parliament, but with us the moment we “ annex ” such territory, *the question of representation arises*. There is no precedent in our history for the “ annexation ” of distant islands and their incorporation into our Union as States. The scheme is not to hold Hawaii long as a territory ! We want no rotten boroughs, especially when they lie 2,100 miles away, peopled as this one is with “ contract ” laborers, coolies, lepers, etc., numbering in 1890 about 90,000, only 13,000 being of European descent, of which 1,928 only were Americans, who polled only 637 votes out of a total of 13,593. (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 598, 53d, 3d.)

In what respect have those now in power in Hawaii strengthened their moral right to cede the islands to the United States, *since* the treaty of 1893 was withdrawn from the Senate?

The erection of an oligarchy in Hawaii since 1893 ; its substitution for the “ Provisional Government ” has *weakened* rather than strengthened the so-called Dole government. An oligarchy is no improvement over a limited or constitutional monarchy ! Going through the idle ceremony of adopting a “ constitution ” at the hands of 37 men—controlled by the same persons or influences which under our flag and forces upset the lawful Hawaiian authority, adds no moral force to the original position occupied.

No delegates were chosen by the people, nor has the oligarchic constitution ever been ratified ; the evidence of refusal to vote being indicative of the reverse of what we are asked to assume, as it also overthrows the Secretary’s assumption. The so-called “ legislature ” of 1896-7 was not chosen by the people—who were disfranchised, only a very few of those who could conscientiously vote having exercised the suffrage. Hawaii is the *despotism of the few*. Four or five

thousand persons are seeking—for selfish political and pecuniary advantage, to rule 109,000. The republic of the United States does not rest upon any such basis as that the few and the rich should govern as against the majority! That is not a “republic”; it is an aristocracy, a plutocracy, an oligarchy; the despotism of money. The fear of that is what the American people are contesting to-day; trusts and combinations that seek to control all the business interests and *thereby* the political affairs of the country! How can any political party in the United States lend such a scheme countenance in Hawaii—by annexation? It would be a dangerous experiment.

In his letter accompanying the pending treaty, Secretary Sherman frankly intimates that there was grave doubt of the *authority* and *power* of those from Hawaii who signed that treaty of 1893, to make a cession of the islands. The Secretary proceeds to excuse the present treaty upon an *assumption*; to wit, that what was a territory in 1893 is now an established government—a “republic” approaching the United States as an equal! A self-constituted oligarchy maintained in power by the presence of our war ships and the refusal of the people to take a *test* oath and to vote—pending the disposal of their appeals to our government for justice, in no wise sustains the double assumption of the venerable Secretary that Hawaii is either a “republic” or that she approaches the United States as an equal. The language of the Secretary clearly indicates that some excuse was deemed necessary for this second treaty effort. In view of his past utterances the present attitude of the Secretary himself in approval of this treaty was evidently regarded so manifestly inconsistent that he resorted to an interview, in which he was made to say that the “annexation” of Hawaii is “exceptional.” In his Recollections, however, we find him saying—

“I hope that our people will be content with internal growth, and *avoid* the complications of *foreign* acquisitions. “Our family of States *is already large enough* to create embarrassment in the Senate; and a republic should not hold dependent provinces or possessions. *Every* new acquisition will create embarrassments. * * * If my life is prolonged I will do all I can to add to the strength and prosperity of the United States, but *nothing to extend* its limits or to add new dangers *by acquisition of foreign territory.*”

The attempt of the Secretary to escape the logical conclusion which this broad line of remark emphasizes and on which all of our great men have always stood, must fail.

Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written to President Madison, April 27, 1809, said—

“It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit
 “can then be drawn to our future acquisitions. Cuba can be
 “defended by us without a navy; and *this develops the principle*
 “which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be
 “accepted which would require *a navy to defend it.*” 5 Jefferson’s Works, 443.

Secretary Frelinghuysen, in a note to Mr. Langston, dated June 20, 1883, says—

“The policy of this Government, as declared on many occasions in the past, has tended toward *avoidance of possessions disconnected from the main continent.*”

In 1884, he said to the same Minister—

“A conviction that a fixed policy, dating back to the origin
 “of our constitutional Government, was considered to make
 “it inexpedient to attempt territorial aggrandizement which
 “would require maintenance by a naval force in excess of any
 “yet provided for our national uses, has led this Government
 “to decline territorial acquisitions. *Even as simple coaling-stations, such territorial acquisitions would involve responsibility beyond their utility.* The United States has never deemed it
 “needful to their national life to maintain impregnable fortresses along the world’s highways of commerce.”

From all these expressions—perfectly consistent and plain, how is it possible to intelligently assert that our early and continuous policy has looked to the eventual “annexation” of the Hawaiian Islands or any other colonial possessions?

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